

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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## JANE TRAINER.

On the appointed day, the case is resumed, and Charles Trainer's new petition is read. In it he prays that he may have the custody of his own child. But Mr. Brady, counsel for Rose Cooper, makes another attempt to prove that Charles has no legal right to her, whatever his natural right may be. He is learned in the slave-law it seems, and quotes statutes without number—as he did before—with a view to establish, that in Alabama slaves are incapacitated by law from marrying. The Judge thereupon says: "that if such is the case, they can continue their race only by living in violation of the laws of God." Mr. Brady is "very much shocked at such a state of things." He says so, at least. "But what can he do? He may regret that this is the case, but cannot help it." Of course not. Perhaps he cannot help trying to deprive a father of his child. Does he not know that Jane is Charles Trainer's daughter? He has admitted this, though he is striving so hard to prove that the law gives her father no right to her. Why does not Mr. Brady leave that task to some one else who does not regret the existence and the results of the law he condemns? We suppose it is because he resembles too many more, who whilst they profess to abominate slavery, either do all they can to perpetuate it, or never care to take any steps to bring it to an end. In the present instance he is striving, with all his might, to render more binding those same statutes which he affects to hold in so much horror. He has established that they do not allow slaves to

marry, but in doing this he has proved too much; for although Jane's mother was a slave, her father was free. He is in a dilemma, for the moment. Presently his knowledge of the Black Code comes to the rescue, and he now contends, that under it a free person of colour and a slave cannot legally be married in Alabama. Still, even this fact does not appear to invalidate Trainer's natural right to his child. It is a strong point, no doubt; but not so strong as nature. Mr. Brady then sets up a special plea for his client. She does not claim Jane as her slave, as she might have done. She has set the child free and intends to bring her up virtuously; as a preliminary to which, she herself intends to reform. She will abandon her dissolute mode of life and become quite a pattern of modesty and virtue. The child, too, is very much attached to her, and on these and the other grounds which have been alleged, she considers she ought to have the custody of Jane.

Under examination, Rose Cooper is again made to reveal the darkest side of her history, from which it would appear that she is altogether an unsuitable person to have the charge of any child, and that, even now, she is residing in a house of ill-repute. But she reiterates her serious intention of reforming, and recriminates on Charles Trainer, whom she accuses of immoral conduct; so he is to be examined.

But where is he? No one knows. Rose Cooper and Mr. Brady look extremely innocent, whilst Lewis Tappan and Mr. Culver eye them suspiciously. It is clear the case cannot go on without him; so it is adjourned

to the 18th, and Jane is taken off in triumph by Rose and her companions; Jacob keeping a close watch upon their movements meanwhile.

On the 18th, the parties again appear in Court, but still without Charles Trainer. In explanation of his absence, Lewis Tappan places in the hands of the Judge a telegraphic message, not long since received, and which runs thus:

“Dunkirk, N. York.

“I was dragged off and beaten, and that is the reason I am in this place.

“CHARLES TRAINER.”

He also produces a letter from Charles, which is read, and which sets forth that he was taken away on the 14th. Mr. Brady turns quite red in the face, and says: “‘tis all humbug.” He knows better though, and so does the Judge, one would think, from the suggestion he now throws out, namely: that if Mr. Culver or Lewis Tappan will undertake to say, on oath, that they think themselves authorized to act for Charles Trainer, then a new writ of *habeas corpus* can be taken out, by which they, in his name, will become empowered to demand Jane from Rose Cooper. Lewis Tappan—who is resolved not to allow himself to be defeated of his object, which is to rescue the child from infamy or slavery—consents, and the necessary formalities are gone through. Some few days must elapse, however, to allow of the process taking its course, and Jane is again carried off by Rose and her party.

She has with her to-day, besides her counsel, a Mr. Frederick Collier, who is described, for some reason, as the son of the late collector at San Francisco; a Mr. Benjamin F. Newhouse, who keeps a cabinet warehouse; and a number of other friends. Mr. Collier seems so fond of Jane, that when they are all about to leave the Court, he takes her fast by the hand and leads her away. Lewis Tappan and his colleagues make an effort to induce Rose to entrust the child to them, but it is of no avail. They are hustled and pushed aside by her party, and are compelled to relinquish their purpose of speaking to little Jane, who is soon outside, where there is a hackney-carriage waiting to carry her away.

Very odd that the coachman should be a coloured man, and that Jacob should be talking with him! Doubtless their conversation has run upon the case of Jane! When Mr. Collier appears, leading her, they leave off talking. He sees the child and Rose safely inside, and gets on the box. Rose tells the coachman to drive her to New Jersey. He exchanges a glance with Jacob, and with a flourish of his whip sets his cattle off at a hand-gallop.

Perhaps Mr. Collier is a stranger to New York. Perhaps neither he nor Rose Cooper

do not take particular notice whither they are going. Or perhaps the driver does not know much about the topography of the city. At any rate, the distance he takes them is quite wonderful, and when he stops, it is in front of the house in Mercer-street. Great is Rose's annoyance, and loud and angry are her demonstrations, on discovering that she is not in New Jersey. She insists upon being taken thither at once. But the coloured coachman (who is looking at little Jane all the time) flatly refuses to convey her, and tells Mr. Collier so too. So she gets down, and goes into the house, declaring emphatically that “she will never employ a coloured coachman any more, if she knows it.”

We wonder what Jacob was doing there; and what made him laugh so as the coach drove off!

On the 20th the case is resumed. Little Jane is ascertained to have disappeared; but the *habeas* has been served upon Rose, and Mr. Culver and Lewis Tappan require to know whether she is ready to surrender Jane? If she is, they will receive her, and give good bonds. Mr. Booth—one of her counsel—objects. The Judge reminds him that Rose had herself made such an offer the other day, and as there are persons of undoubted respectability ready to accept it, there appears to be no reason for her present refusal. Mr. Booth observes that she made that offer “under trying circumstances”; but that “she has altered her mind, and is now determined to test to the utmost, the question of legal right to the child. They deny Lewis Tappan's right to act for Trainer, and also Trainer's right to Jane.” Lewis Tappan insists upon it that he “has authority to act for Trainer,” and Mr. Culver prefers a request for “an adjournment of the case, to enable them to find Trainer,” demanding the custody of Jane meanwhile. The Judge adjourns the hearing till the 23rd, but declines to interfere between Lewis Tappan and Rose Cooper with reference to the custody of Jane.

As it is now quite clear that Rose and her friends are determined to delay the solution of the legal question as long as they possibly can—she probably hoping, in the interim, to get slyly off with the little girl—Lewis Tappan sets resolutely to work to defeat their intention. He proceeds to the Jefferson-market Police-court, and there makes affidavit that F. Collier is attempting to kidnap the child. The Justice (his name is Stewart) thereupon issues a warrant for the immediate arrest of Collier, who is brought up, and who, having heard the statute of the State read, which renders the kidnapper of a child under twelve years of age liable to ten years' imprisonment, and being threatened with an application of this punishment to himself, tells the Justice that Jane is now in the hands of a Mr. Newhouse, who it seems is

present. Justice Stewart requires Mr. Collier to hold himself to bail, in the sum of one thousand dollars, to answer the charge of kidnapping, irrespective of any decision Judge Duer may give with reference to the legal right of Charles Trainer or Rose Cooper to the child; and as the latter is in the hands of Mr. Newhouse, this gentleman is made Collier's bail. Time shall be given, he says, for both parties to make themselves known, and should either of them be absent, at the next hearing appointed before Judge Duer, no advantage shall be taken of that circumstance.

The 23rd of May arrives, and once again the case is resumed. Mr. Brady sets forth, on behalf of Rose, in his return to the *habeas*, that Lewis Tappan is an intermeddling, reckless man, and unworthy to be entrusted with Jane; that he has recently made affidavit to the effect that Rose had kidnapped Jane, which statement is utterly false. But setting this point aside, he denies the jurisdiction of the Judge in the case. Mr. Culver, casting his eye over the return, makes it known that Rose has signed it by the name of Cooper; whereas, the return made to the *habeas* issued by Justice Bogart, at the *Tombs*, bears the signature of Porter.

At this moment there is some commotion in court. We suppose Jacob has had something to do with it. A most important witness appears, being no other than Charles Trainer, who has just returned to New York from Dunkirk. Another personage also presents himself, namely, one Captain Isaiah Rynders. He is escorted by some fifty very determined-looking fellows, and their appearance produces a peculiar sensation. People seem afraid of them. They wonder what is coming next. Judge Duer does not seem quite decided whether to go on with the case or not. At length he adjourns it till the 26th, and Rose is escorted to her carriage by Captain Isaiah Rynders and his confederates. Whilst this is going on, and whilst Mr. Culver and Lewis Tappan have been in attendance on Judge Duer, Mr. Brady has contrived to make such representations to Justice Stewart, that the latter has dismissed the charge of kidnapping against Mr. Collier. Sharp practice this, and all to gain possession of a helpless little girl.

The parties appear again before Judge Duer, on the 26th. Captain Rynders and his force are there. He takes his seat between the Judge and Mr. Brady, whilst his followers disperse themselves in and around the Court-room. But Charles Trainer is not present. He sends a message to say he is afraid to come. The Judge says he shall dismiss the case, but on a strong representation being made to him, that Trainer is contumacious only through fear, Judge Duer consents to adjourn the hearing till the afternoon, and sends two officers of the Court, to assure Trainer of its protection.

Captain Isaiah is there again in the afternoon, and so are his colleagues. Trainer is now examined, and explains how he came to be away at Dunkirk. "On the 14th he had been told that a friend of his, who was said to be waiting across the ferry, wanted to see him. He soon found that it was a cruel trick. He was waylaid and beaten, and threatened with assassination if he returned to New York. He had therefore fled to Dunkirk, and concealed himself."

Captain Rynder's gang seem to think the whole thing an excellent joke, and enter into it with so much enjoyment—judging of their feelings by their hardly suppressed mirth—that it is not unreasonable to suppose they may have had some hand in it.

Little Jane is now examined. She does not appear to understand the nature of an oath, so the usual formality of administering one is dispensed with. She says she "wants to stay with missis: she does not want to be free." She has evidently been well tutored on this point, for her answers are ready, though she is observed to glance somewhat uneasily at Rose. "She admits that her name is Jane Trainer, and that she has always been called by that name: that her mother's name is Emma Trainer, and that Charles Trainer"—here she points to him—"is her father."

Mr. Brady says: "Very well: his client imposes no restraint upon the child, nor any force to prevent her from being taken." Mr. Culver retorts, "that if this is the case, all they ask is that the father may be permitted to go up and take his child by the hand, and lead her away." On this, Captain Isaiah Rynders bridles up and looks very determined, and is observed to exchange significant glances with his followers, who begin to gather about Rose and Jane, as though they think they will require protection. Mr. Brady, who notices what is passing, says, with peculiar emphasis, looking straight at Trainer, Mr. Culver, and Lewis Tappan: "if they take my advice, they will refrain from attempting any such thing. If force is used, it will be repelled by force, under my advice." A considerable sensation is produced by this announcement; nothing is wanting to complete the audacity of it, but a verdict of the Judge in favour of Trainer. But Judge Duer adjourns the case till the 28th, when he says he will hear the reply of Mr. Culver. Under these circumstances Rose goes off in triumph once more.

On the 28th, Mr. Culver presents his case at great length, adducing numerous authorities in support of his view of it, commenting upon the testimony, and replying to all the objections that have been raised by Mr. Brady. Judge Duer says he will give his decision on the 30th.

The case has by this time excited general interest. The sympathy in favour of Trainer

is very great. The attendance at the Court, on the day when judgment is to be given, is unusually large. All the parties concerned are evidently anxious, and the public not less so. Captain Rynder's gang is there, quite ready to take sides against the law, if it should be adverse to "Rose of Alabama;" and Mr. Culver and Lewis Tappan are there, equally determined to adopt ulterior measures, if it should not be given in favour of Trainer. The Court is hushed. Judge Duer has had many weeks to consider the case in all its aspects. The child has been proved to be Trainer's. Rose has been proved to have no claim to her. Surely his decision will be, that the father shall have his daughter. No! He pronounces a judgment that is virtually adverse to Trainer. He says he has no jurisdiction in the case. Mr. Culver reminds him that the writ had been issued against Rose, at his own (Judge Duer's) suggestion. The Judge admits it, but says he was mistaken as to the extent of his powers. Mr. Brady offers to give the custody of Jane to Mr. Newhouse, but to this plan Mr. Culver objects, on the plea that Mr. Newhouse is too intimate with Rose, that he is her bondsman, and is not a proper person to be entrusted with the child. A suggestion is then made by Lewis Tappan that Jane shall be given over into the custody of Mr. Lynch, the clerk of the Court: but this is ultimately declined. The Judge thinks Rose has been "badly advised: the child may go where it pleases, but he will not permit Charles Trainer to go and take her against her will." Little Jane, after glancing once or twice at "missis," clings to her skirt. This is taken as an indication of her preference to remain with Rose, who leaves the Court in great triumph, escorted by Captain Isaiah Rynders and his gang of *b'hoys*.

But Jane has a staunch friend in Lewis Tappan, who is not to be diverted from his purpose of saving and restoring her to her natural protector. There are other Judges besides Judge Duer, and to one of them—Judge Barculo of Brooklyn—he applies for an injunction to restrain Rose Cooper from taking the coloured child out of the State. The application is made on the 6th June, in the special term of the Supreme Court. The Judge hears what Lewis Tappan, and Mr. Culver, and Charles Trainer, and Mr. Brady have to say. He expresses his astonishment that on the *habeas corpus* proceedings, the child was not surrendered into her father's hands, and that he and his friends did not go at once, and in presence of Judge Duer take Jane away. A hint is here thrown out respecting Captain Rynders and the strong force he had in Court on the occasion.

The very next day—on the 7th—Judge Barculo issues a *habeas corpus* to bring up Rose Cooper and Jane Trainer, the execution of which is entrusted to a Mr. Hegeman,

Deputy Sheriff of King's County. Under a mistaken notion of jurisdiction, this official repairs to Sheriff Orser, of New York city, who sends one of his subordinates to aid the Deputy from King's County. The latter, who has Judge Barculo's writ, finds Rose and Jane at No. 101, Mercer-street, places them in a carriage and conveys them to the office of Mr. Brady. Wherefore, does not appear. They are here deposited, and the carriage is sent off to fetch Captain Rynders, who comes forthwith, and is soon followed by more than fifty of his gang. The Deputy Sheriff of King's County now wishes to take Jane Trainer and Rose before the Judge, according to his instructions, but the Deputy Sheriff of New York refuses to give up Jane or the writ. The squabble (perhaps it is a plot) is settled by the interference of the Sheriff himself so far as the possession of the writ is concerned, by the surrender of the latter to the King's County official, who is obliged to return to Brooklyn empty-handed. But he relates the whole adventure to Judge Barculo, who having more respect for the law than fear of Captain Rynders who has thus signally defeated it for a while, immediately issues attachments against Captain Isaiah, Rose Cooper, and the Deputy Sheriff of New York, (by name Cromley,) that they may be brought before him to answer for their defiance of the law.

On the 8th the defendants appear, as well as Rose Cooper and Jane. Mr. Brady reads affidavits made by Rose and Deputy Cromley, in explanation of their conduct. The Judge gives it as his opinion, after hearing these statements, that Rose has not been guilty of contempt of Court, but that Deputy Cromley appears to have behaved in an extraordinary manner. He proposes to defer his judgment in his case in order to institute further inquiry, giving the Deputy to understand that if there is found cause, an exemplary punishment will assuredly be inflicted upon him. The affidavit of Mr. Hegeman, the Deputy Sheriff of King's County, is now put in by Mr. Culver and read. It sets forth the violent proceedings of Captain Rynders, on the occasion in question, and how that the Captain thereby prevented the execution by him of the Judge's writ against Rose. Upon this statement another attachment is granted against Captain Isaiah, who finds himself now in an awkward predicament rather. In his defence he says, "he has been accustomed to aid the officers in enforcing the law. In the present instance he had misapprehended the matter. His impression had been that the writ of *habeas* against Rose Cooper which Deputy Hegeman sought to execute, and which he (the Captain) thought it his duty to resist, had been granted by a Judge who had no jurisdiction in New York, Judge Barculo being a County Judge." To this, Judge

Barculo makes a significant rejoinder. He informs the Captain "that he has heard of certain persons in New York, whose habit it is to attend Courts of Justice, on particular occasions, with the object of overawing the Judges; but that he has not been accustomed to see such unlawful interference, which shall not be permitted there. He advises him to be good enough to allow the Judges to decide as to the extent of their jurisdiction, and on such occasions as those to which he has referred, to keep away from the Courts, as the law can be enforced without his aid. He further admonishes him to be more careful in future, or he will get into trouble. But he will let him off this time."

The bold Captain is rejoiced to be thus leniently dealt with, and slinks away greatly crest-fallen. Mr. Brady is not very comfortable either, for the Judge has looked at him twice or thrice very significantly, whilst rebuking Captain Isaiah.

But there is other business to do now. Mr. Culver is addressing the Judge, who proceeds to examine Charles Trainer, notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Brady. Then he questions little Jane, from whom he elicits that "she is locked up in the house, No. 101, Mercer-street. Yes! Charles Trainer is her father, but she does not want to go with him, because she is afraid of the Abolitionists. They want to steal her from her missis, and to keep her, and not give her anything to eat. She has been told so, and that's why she wants to stay with missis." A closer cross-examination of the various witnesses confirms the Judge in the view he has taken of the transaction. He orders Jane to be transferred, for present safe keeping, to the custody of the Sheriff of King's County. It is in vain that Rose and Mr. Brady protest. Judge Barculo commands the Sheriff to take away the child, "as he is bound to obey," and informs the parties that on the 9th he will hear Mr. Brady and Mr. Culver argue the case. So they leave the Court. As Mr. Culver and Lewis Tappan go out, the former turns round to Mr. Brady saying: "We mean that the child, once here, shall never cross the river to New York again with Rose Cooper."

And no one who sees the determination impressed upon the countenance of the speaker and of his elderly friend, for one moment doubt but that they will keep their word.

On the 9th, the two counsel and their friends appear before the Judge, and argue the case at great length. No incident worth noticing occurs. The Judge dismisses them, with the intimation that, on the 13th, he will give judgment.

It is a great day at the Court-house. Long before eleven, the hour appointed, a very large concourse of citizens is in attendance; for the extraordinary pertinacity of Jane

Trainer's friends, and the notorious unscrupulousness of those of Rose Cooper, have invested the transaction with peculiar interest. There is an unusual number of coloured people present, too, amongst whom our friend Jacob is very active. It is surprising how much he seems to be in request, and how anxiously they listen to him as he relates what he knows of little Jane's story. When the Sheriff enters, leading her, there is a general stretching out of necks, and a hum of whispers. Mr. Culver and Lewis Tappan look cool and confident. The Judge takes his seat, and all is hushed.

C. A. May, Esq., appears for Mr. Brady, states that he is detained in New York on professional business, and requests that the decision may be postponed for a day. The Judge, however, does not see that Mr. Brady's presence is absolutely necessary, and proceeds to lay down the law of the case. And excellent, good law it is: though too long to reproduce here. Having established the right of the Court to interfere, he disposes of every argument that Mr. Brady has adduced, in support of Rose Cooper's claim; and is not long about it. He pronounces Emma and Charles Trainer's marriage to be valid at common law, and asserts that the father has a title to his child, superior to any stranger's, and that this is a doctrine not less of the authorities than it is a principle of human nature. "If," he observes significantly, "if he were a white man, of standing and influence in the community, the truth of this proposition would be universally acknowledged; and any tribunal that, having authority, should hesitate to afford him relief, would subject itself to just reproach." The learned Judge, having gone completely through the arguments involved in the various points of law which have been raised, says: "That guided by these lights, he shall direct an order to be entered adjudging that the said Charles Trainer is entitled to the care and custody of said Jane Trainer, and directing her to be delivered to him, as her father; leaving him, like the rest of them then present, responsible to his conscience and his God for the manner in which he shall fulfil the trust thus restored to him."

The Court then orders the Sheriff to deliver the child over to her father.

The scene is impressive and touching. Little Jane cries very much; but her father folds her to his bosom, and she presently stops crying, and casting her little arms around his neck, falls to kissing him. He quits the Court, carrying out his little Jane in triumph, followed by a large crowd of his coloured friends, headed by Jacob, who is now the very biggest man amongst them. They have greeted the Judge's decision with a burst of acclamation, and they go away thanking God that in King's County there is an upright

Judge, who has had firmness to give a righteous verdict in this long-contested and important case.

Well may those noble men who have, for humanity's sake, conducted the proceedings for little Jane, feel gratified at the result of their labours; and well may Rose Cooper bite her lips as she slinks out of the Court. Her feelings are not at all improved in tone by the remark of the elderly lady in sober garb and with the quiet look who, as Rose sweeps past her, says: "Thy prey 'hath escaped thee."

Yes! Poor little Jane is safe. She has been rescued from a great peril, and sincere are the thanksgivings which her father's friend, Dr. Pennington, offers that evening, when they are all assembled in his house.

Alas! would that every poor slave child, threatened with such a fate, found friends to interfere so timely in its behalf.

#### THE STAFFORD-HOUSE ADDRESS.

We believe the following is the first official reply that has been received in this country from the "Women of America," to the Addresses recently signed by six hundred thousand of the "Women of England," on the subject of American slavery. We entertain little doubt but that the name of Mrs. Tyler was used as a mere blind by some pro-slavery editor, and that the address which was supposed to have emanated from her was of masculine origin. The present reply is at least a genuine document, and breathes throughout earnest, womanly sentiment. We feel assured it will be read with deep interest, especially by those who signed the Addresses to which it is a response. It appears that it was passed at a public meeting held at Oberlin, the particulars of which have not yet come to hand.

"Oberlin, Ohio, United States,  
"April 6, 1853.

**"ESTEEMED SISTERS IN THE CAUSE OF THE SLAVE,**—Gladly and gratefully do we respond to your truly affectionate and Christian Address. Humbly endeavouring, in obedience to the heavenly precept, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them,' and oppressed in spirit by a sense of the enormous evil that has thrust its fangs into a portion of our beloved country, we hail with joy the kind word of sympathy and exhortation which has been borne to us across the waters.

"In behalf of the *Ladies' Anti-slavery Society of Oberlin*, and we doubt not of many thousands of our countrywomen, in the name of the broken-hearted slave, and of bleeding humanity, we sincerely thank you for your generous and zealous appeal on behalf of the oppressed. Most cordially do we welcome to our alliance the wives, the sisters, and the daughters of those renowned philanthropists who so nobly, so perseveringly, and so successfully, toiled in the cause of British emancipation. Cheered and urged on by those who

have trodden the way before us, may we not reasonably anticipate a surer, more glorious, and more speedy victory than might otherwise be achieved? Our great and glorious Leader has issued his proclamation, 'break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free.' Onward, then, let us unitedly move, in this great moral battle, against the Mother of all abominations, with our prayer-sustained banner streaming in the approving sunlight of heaven. Our cause is the cause of Him who 'executeth judgment for the oppressed;' and with the diligent use of the weapons of faith and love, there is no fear that we shall eventually fail.

"Our world is dishonoured—Christendom is insulted—our nation is degraded! Does not so aggravated an indignity demand a corresponding rebuke from all in whose hearts the last sentiment of honour and humanity is not yet extinguished? Shall Christ be betrayed in the house of His friends, and none lift up their voices for Him? Shall the gifts and graces of the Spirit be bartered for gold, and shall not the ears of evil-doers be made to tingle with one cry of remonstrance and horror?

"Millions of human beings, with all the natural capabilities for happiness and suffering of which we ourselves are conscious, are at this moment crushed by a power more fearful than the wheels of the horrid Juggernaut. Man, with his stout frame and stouter heart, stamped with the image and superscription of Him who endowed him with life and inalienable rights, is withered into a spiritless and degraded chattel. Woman, with her varied susceptibilities, her pure and elevated aspirations, is vilely trodden in the dust; the joys that cluster about the hearthstone are nevertheless invaded; noble youth and tender infancy are valued by the pound, and raised like brutes for the market. It would be utterly vain, were we to attempt to portray the deeds and deformities of the hydra-headed monster that revels beneath our Southern sky. Sculpture, poetry, and printing have attempted to depict it. Genius has consecrated her exalted powers to the work. The press has scattered its missives like the leaves of autumn. The pulpit—shall we speak of its firm and holy adherence to the *right*—of its manly and fearless exposure of the *wrong*? Happy, most happy, had it been for the honour of our holy religion, and for the millions of suffering bondsmen, could we truthfully say this—"Let its own works declare it."

"But in justice to a band of tried and faithful spirits, who have zealously maintained the cause of humanity, unmoved by either the fear or favour of man, we cannot neglect to mention that there are noble exceptions, which stand forth like watchfires on the mountains, to warn the Church and nation of their awful guilt, and of their impending danger. It is a privilege likewise, from long personal knowledge, to speak of one pulpit which has ever raised its voice in favour of the oppressed.

"The minds of some of us revert with deep interest to the period, now nearly twenty years ago, when the question was debated, whether this College of Oberlin should be open to all, without distinction of colour. The obstacles to be overcome, and the obloquy to be endured, by our infant College, and a feeble Colony, in conse-

quence of the adoption of such a principle, at a time when anti-slavery sentiment was at so low an ebb, are too obvious to be enlarged upon.

" During that hour of serious deliberation and warmest debate, the ladies of Oberlin evinced, by their earnest prayers to the God of the oppressed, how deep a hold the momentous question had taken of woman's heart and energies.

" Not long in even scales the battle hung."

" Sympathy for the slave and fidelity to God outweighed all considerations of popularity and aggrandisement; and though the storms of persecution have since assailed us, they have but served to establish the fact, that our house was founded upon a rock, against which the waves of popular feeling have raged in vain.

" We do not purpose to afflict you with the revolting facts which are inseparable from the institution of slavery; we are weary of the painful, the humiliating detail. But we will state, for your information and encouragement, that, by the aid of anti-slavery combinations and benevolent individuals, who think it right to obey God rather than man, very many of our poor oppressed brethren and sisters are finding their way to a city of refuge.

" But a few days since we had the satisfaction of seeing a family of fugitives, composed of a mother with seven children and one grandchild, hurried by friends into a wagon, to be conveyed to the shores of Lake Erie, and thence to the asylum of the slave, your own hospitable Canada. One of their company, a fair orphan boy of five years—not included in the above number—was left in our village. The struggle for freedom was too much for his little feeble frame, and after a few days of patient silent suffering, his spirit winged its way to that sphere 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' The occasion of his burial was a season not to be forgotten by those who witnessed it; and we feel assured we are not mistaken when we assert that over the cold clay of that poor fugitive child, hundreds vowed eternal hostility to slavery. Measures are now in progress to place a stone over that grave, with a suitable inscription, to serve as a monitor in future years, to remind us of our errors. Being a delicate child, he had been committed by his dying mother, not to the 'tender mercies' of his father, for he was his master! but to the care and compassion of a fellow-slave, who, in escaping with her own children (about to be separated by sale), did not forget her pledge to the dying woman. His foster mother told us she had always taken care of the child, as his mother was a field hand, and could not attend to him. She spoke, too, of the beauty of his mother. Oh! what a volume of untold wrongs may be wrapped up in that brief story. Reluctantly they consented to leave the orphan behind, and with many tears they imprinted the parting kiss.

" We rejoiced with trembling, and yet with trust, as the family set off in an open conveyance to wend their way through the almost impassable roads. The cry of 'arrest the fugitives,' with an offer of 2,000 dollars for their apprehension, had swept along the telegraphic line, and we could only commit them to the shadow of unseen wings,

to the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night. What other defence could we desire? The God to whom we sent our cry hid them from their pursuers, and they are now safe in Canada.

" But the poor hunted fugitive, though often, is not always successful. A little time ago, within a short distance from us, a company of liberty-seekers had reached the shores of Lake Erie, when they were overtaken by their pursuers, and escape became impossible. Who shall describe the intensity of that anguish into which they were plunged, when so suddenly all their bright hopes of freedom became extinct? Who can depict the despair with which they now toil on in a bondage, more hopeless, and, if possible, more cruel than before?

" Previous to the arrest, a mother threw down her child, in the forlorn hope that if she must be taken her child might escape. Having been picked up by a stander-by, it was at once demanded by its owner. The gentleman in turn denied his right, and demanded the evidence. The master forthwith summoned the mother, and required her to acknowledge her child. But there was no chord in her maternal heart that vibrated at such a touch. She persisted in denying the relation! Mothers of England! repeat this terrible fact till every woman's heart in Great Britain shall bleed for the American female slave. A mother refusing to acknowledge her child (from the intensity of love), that it may not return to bondage. She remained firm to her purpose, and the little one, though motherless, is free, and the inhuman monster who caused such a sacrifice, though he laid his cruel hand on the mother, was deprived of the child.

" How dreadful must be that doom, to avoid which a tender infant is plucked from its mother's warm breast, and cast upon the cold bosom of the earth, as the only practicable means of saving it from a future fate, more dreaded than the separation of a mother from her child for ever.

" After what has been said, it is needless to state that among us the Fugitive Slave Act is a hissing and a by-word. Over the recent 'Black Laws' of a neighbouring State, too, looms up the bow of promise, and it is not difficult to see, that even these inhuman enactments are among the wise and necessary means appointed for the downfall of slavery.

" Next to the direct interposition of Him who promises to plead the cause of the oppressed, our hope is in the extension of the principles of our holy religion. Let the truths of the Gospel really be received into men's hearts, and slavery must fall before their power.

" We have every encouragement to toil on and toil ever. Conscience and universal humanity are combining in terrible array, in opposition to slavery, as a sin against God, and against all mankind. Let us then provoke one another to love and to good works."

" Permit us again to thank you for your kind interposition, and also for your implied rebuke. We respectfully and earnestly solicit a continuance of your sympathy and prayers. If, when two individuals are agreed as touching anything, it shall be given them, shall there not be a power which shall move Omnipotence, in the united and fervent supplications of two nations?

" As a Society, we should be stimulated and encouraged, and we doubt not the cause would generally be greatly promoted by a regular correspondence and reciprocity between the two nations. Favoured by the indications of Providence, we may at some future day have the happiness of sending to you some one of our number to confer with you on this absorbing question, and ' stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance.' And is it too much to hope that we too may enjoy the privilege of a personal interview with some of the philanthropic ladies of your country, for the promotion of the same great cause ?

" We trust the interest you have so generously manifested may not be suffered to languish, but, like Noah's dove, let the spirit of agitation go forth and find no rest until the deep waters, in which so many of the sable sons of Africa have perished, have abated from off the earth.

" In conclusion, let us not cease to commit our common cause to the ever-watchful care of the God of the oppressed, the Father of us all, resolved not to rest till the shouts of freedom shall break forth from the prison-house of bondage, and the poor slave shall go free.

" Prepared by the Committee of the *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Oberlin*, appointed for that purpose, and presented and adopted at a public meeting of the Society, April 4th, 1853."

#### SLAVERY IN INDIA.

In the November number of the last series of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, we had occasion to call attention to the prevalence of slavery in the province of Travancore, British India. The Rajah is in alliance with and under the protection of the British India Government, and there is a British Resident there. The province has a very considerable area and a gross population of 1,280,688, according to the census of 1836; of which, 164,864, or nearly one-eighth of the whole, are slaves, in addition to the house slaves, of whom we have no return. Some time ago, the *Friend of India* published a statement giving a few general facts confirmatory of the allegation which has frequently been made, that notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, slavery exists in India, to a very considerable extent, in provinces which are under the British protectorate. Petitions relating to the subject were lately presented to Parliament, during the debates on the new *India Government Bill*, but the matter of the petitions excited no comment. We have quite recently been favoured with a communication from the Rev. J. Whitehouse, a missionary in the connexion of the *London Missionary Society*, and resident at Nagercoil, Travancore, giving some highly interesting facts on the nature of the slavery in that province, which we append for the information of our readers. We may observe that the majority of the slaves are predial or agricultural; that

is, field-hands, and belong to four castes, namely: the Pariar, Puliyar, Corawar, and Pallar.

We quote from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for November, 1852, the following particulars relative to the House and Government Slaves, as they serve to connect the narrative:—

" The slaves in Travancore may be divided into two classes, house and field slaves, and the second class may be subdivided into Government and private slaves.

" The house slaves are generally of the same caste as their masters. Poor persons, who are unable to support their families, not unfrequently sell one or more of their children to richer persons of the same caste, who support them, and make them their house slaves, and thus they and their descendants are reduced to bondage. The condition of these is commonly not so debased as that of the field slaves, but still they are bondmen. There have been instances of some of them acquiring property and obtaining employment under Government, but of course such cases are rare.

" The next class is that of Government slaves. Many of these were formerly private field slaves, but their masters having died without heirs, they became Government property. Others have become Government slaves, through the documents under which they were held as private slaves being lost. Some of them are never employed by the Government, but, in lieu of service, a man is required to pay an annual tax of about 7d., and a woman 3½d.; and though the man dies, the wife is compelled, until the next assessment, to pay the sum for her husband which he paid when he was alive."

Our correspondent adds the following further particulars in his last communication.

" The Government slaves or their ancestors were formerly in all probability private slaves, but they became the property of Government by their masters having died without heirs, or by the loss of the documents by which they were held as private property—or by their masters having devoted their land or part of it, with some or all the slaves connected with it, to Pagoda uses; and as Pagoda lands have been assumed by the Travancore Government, these slaves are now Government property.

" The slaves in the south of Travancore are mostly Pariar and Pallar. The Corawar and Puliyar are more numerous in the northern part. More than a thousand slaves are under regular Christian instruction in connexion with the London Missionary Society, and several are church members. The senior catechist in the Nagercoil district is a slave; his master is a Brahmin whom he has never seen, and who, by absence from the neighbourhood, has never required his services. Several of the slaves about us have in effect purchased their freedom, but this amounts to nothing more than a transfer of themselves, for a price received by their former master, to one who will not demand their labour. This is all the slaves can do. Legal freedom they cannot obtain by any means.

"In the census of 1836, the Pariar and Puliyar castes are denominated slave castes, without any exception. The law does not recognise any right in these castes to freedom under any circumstances, and any member of these castes is liable to be made a Government slave, if he cannot produce proof of his having an owner.

"The sale of slaves is not frequent, for a slave-holder when in pecuniary straits first disposes of his lands, and only in cases of extreme necessity parts with slaves, whom he regards as the most productive and remunerative description of property. The more intelligent and skilful a slave becomes, the more fully are his services engaged by his master, and the more difficult is it for him to obtain his so-called freedom; and the more capable a man is of valuing his freedom and using it well, the faster are his fetters riveted. The price of slaves is rather higher in the south than in the north of Travancore, and yet an adult male slave may be obtained here for from 14 shillings to £1. 14s., according to ability; and an adult female slave for from 14 shillings to 30 shillings, according to age and the probability of her having a large family—her breeding probabilities being inquired into just as if she were a brute. All the children she may have after her purchase will be the property of her new owner. The children she may have at the time of purchase may or may not go with her; in the former case, a price will be put on each. The masters encourage *marriage* among their slaves with a view to the increase of their numbers. The slave is at liberty to choose a wife from his own caste from any neighbourhood, yet in many cases a master will provide a wife from among his own slaves. Should several children be the result of such a union, and the wife belong to another owner, the eldest child only becomes the slave of the father's owner, while the other children, as well as the mother, may at any time be claimed by the master of the mother. Generally, the latter master is content to wait until the children have reached an age when they are fit for service. However many children he may then take, he leaves the mother in the hope of a further increase of offspring.

"There does not appear to exist any evidence of the systematic practice of slave-breeding. There is not constant employment for the present number of slaves; most of them therefore are left, during a great part of the year, to scrape up a wretched living as they can, and thus the want of labourers has not called into exercise an infernal ingenuity to supply a deficiency. In all parts of the country distant from the high roads, most distressing scenes may be witnessed during the dry weather, when most of the slaves are left by their masters to their own emptiness and poverty, and when other work is rarely obtainable. Numerous emaciated creatures are then seen grubbing in the dry beds of tanks for roots, or prowling about the villages like the homeless dogs, to pick up anything which may answer the purpose of food. Necessity drives many of the slaves to thieving. Most of the petty thefts are committed by them. They also occasionally break into houses, and join in the attack on the persons as well as the property of the householders. In such expeditions they are often accompanied by their masters. Masters sometimes train their

slaves to act under them in robbery, &c. Sometimes the slaves take the leading part, both in planning and executing an attack. In either case the master is allowed to take the better share of the booty, such as gold, silver, jewels, fine cloths and instruments of agriculture; the slaves being contented with the paddy and other grain, jaggery, coarse cloths, &c. The destitution of most of the slaves may be traced in part to the fact that masters only pay their slaves for those days in which they do work for them, and even then pay them considerably less here than free labourers. Thus the slaves employed by their masters during only a small part of the year, and then paid in paddy (rice in husk) at about a third the hire paid to others,—at others times receiving no help from their masters, and dependent only on other work which they may get—more liable than many to disease, and yet having no legal provision for the support of themselves and families in times of sickness or old age; slaves thus circumstanced, must find existence a burden, and be inevitably sons and daughters of sorrow.

"There are, of course, exceptions. A few have kind masters and constant work, and, compared with most slaves, live with some degree of comfort: but for this they are not indebted to the law, for the law for the slaves is cruel and highly unjust, and its object seems to be to heap degradation and distress on those unfortunate sons of Adam. Cruel treatment of slaves is not uncommon. Women have been knocked down and trampled on by their Legree-like savage masters, yet the sufferers were afraid to give information to the authorities, and if they had they would probably have got no redress. Interest and money stand instead of evidence and right in all the departments of the Travancore Government; and thus, unless a slave's complaint be backed by a person of influence (a rare occurrence), or the official before whom the case is brought has a spite against the accused party, or wishes to make a profit out of him, no notice whatever will be taken of the complaint. Thus, whatever the law may be on these points, its administration commonly makes it a dead letter.

"The very laws degrade them. It requires them to flee from the public road on the approach of members of high caste. Under such circumstances, slaves with heavy burdens hastily run out of the road and climb up steep banks, trembling all over and quivering in every muscle with the effort, or at other times plunge into the mud of the rice fields, and all this just because a high caste man is passing along the road. The slaves are compelled to live at a distance from the houses of other castes. Thus most large towns have a *Paraséri*, i.e., a slave caste hamlet, connected with them, but at a distance from them. The slaves commonly reside in miserable hovels built on little hillocks in the paddy fields, not more than two or three feet above the water in which the rice grows, exposed to damp, cold, and unhealthy vapours, and thus they are the first victims to fever, dysentery and cholera. A person belonging to one of these castes, supposing him to have the means, is forbidden by the law to build himself a comfortable house like those of the Sudras and others. Two good men of the Pariah caste were some years ago forced to alter their houses,

because they had built them in a style not sanctioned by law for that caste. The law denies to a slave the use of an umbrella and sandals. The severity of the latter prohibition will not be recognised in England so readily as in India, where at mid-day the stones are so hot that one cannot lay the hand on them without pain. The law interferes with the shape of their ornaments, and the material of which they are to be made. The Hindoo is fond of trinkets, but the lawgivers of Travancore have degraded themselves by laying restrictions on the slaves in respect even to their little and scanty finery, and instead of gold or silver they are required to put on lead, iron, or brass. The law in respect to slave women grossly outrages common decency. Immediately a stranger enters Travancore, his sense of decency is shocked by the sight of slave women—the young and unmarried, the middle-aged and pregnant, and the old and withered—all naked from the waist upwards, and on his expressing his surprise, he is told that the law requires it. Women, who are not slaves, belonging to castes above the Pariar, &c., are prohibited from covering their breasts with the upper cloth, but the female Christian converts of the Shanar caste are permitted to wear a jacket instead. In a proclamation of Feb. 3rd, 1829, there is the following paragraph:—'It is accordingly declared that the women of the Shanars have no authority to wear the upper cloth, and are hereby prohibited from doing so. The Christian converts from the Shanars have already been forbidden, in a circular order of the 7th Yadavum, 989, from wearing the upper cloth, but are allowed to wear jackets called Coopyum, instead.' But this permission is confined to the Shanar women, and does not apply to the slaves. This proclamation, which many natives condemn as conceding too much, but which every right-minded man will consider a disgrace to any Government on entirely opposite grounds, was issued by a woman, the Ranee of Travancore, the aunt of the present Rajah, and it was sanctioned by the British Resident. In the use of language the poor slaves are restricted by law. When speaking of husband, wife, child, house, food, dress, marriage, death, &c., degrading terms must be used; and were a slave in a petition or before a court to substitute, for these, other terms used by higher castes, he would be liable to punishment. There are many instances of infraction of these regulations, and these are mostly found among the slaves under the protection of missionaries; still the law is as stated, and those who infringe it are liable to suffer for so doing.

"An apologist for the Travancore law may say that these regulations are founded on the caste principle, and are designed to maintain it, but such caste is an institution connected with the religion of the majority of the people of India; and caste regulations ought to be binding only on those who, receiving the principle as a sound one, voluntarily subject themselves to all that is involved in it. Government is stepping beyond its province in recognising caste distinctions, and enforcing obedience to caste rules. Hundreds of slaves in Travancore have embraced Christianity, as well as thousands who are not slaves, and it is unjust for any man or Government to require of them who abjure the principle, that they shall conform in practice."

With reference to the kind of labour required of the slaves, their hours for work, and other particulars, they will be found in the old series of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for November, 1852, under the head of *Slavery in India*. It appears that in 1847 and 1848, the missionaries in Travancore presented two memorials to the Rajah, on the subject of slavery. To the first he replied, promising ameliorations, but stating that "Emancipation was too serious a thing to be entertained just yet." To the second memorial no reply was given. The rigours of the system are said to be as great as ever; the Travancore Government will do nothing, and the British Resident will not move in the matter, it is said: the friends of the slaves therefore appeal to the British Legislature and the British public, and as Travancore is all but entirely subject to British authority, it seems to be quite within the province of the Government to interpose its authority, and require of the Rajah immediate and complete emancipation throughout his territory.

#### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

A very curious circumstance has recently occurred in New York, which illustrates the extent to which the odious Fugitive Slave Law is attempted to be stretched.

The case was that of a white boy, one John Van Orden, who having run away, was claimed as an apprentice by his master, John Randall of New York, and arrested as a fugitive from service and labour. It came on for hearing before George W. Morton, Esq., of the United States Commissioners' Court, having been previously heard by Mr. Commissioner Bridgman, on a warrant granted by him. The counsel for the claimant contended that the words and meaning of sections 3 and 4 of the Constitution, and the Acts of 1793 and 1850, might possibly apply to fugitive slaves, but were infinitely more applicable to fugitive apprentices, servants, redemptioners, &c. The Commissioner observed that the statute made it imperative upon him, as a Commissioner, to hear and determine cases of this nature in a summary manner. He had taken cognizance of all the written evidence and papers, and received the additional testimony tendered. He had also listened attentively to the able arguments of the counsel on both sides, and examined the various authorities cited. Every opportunity had thus been afforded him of examining the subject with care. The evidence proved that the person claimed as a fugitive from service was an apprentice, under voluntary contract by indenture, to learn the art of making shoes, who came to New York without permission, and refused to return. It did not describe a person "held to service or labour," within the meaning of the third section, fourth

article of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Acts of Congress passed 1793 and 1850. The word "person" in the Constitution, and in the sense used therein, was synonymous with "slave," and the whole scope and object of that clause of the instrument, in his judgment, were exhausted and answered in its application to fugitive slaves, exclusive of any and all other description of runaway servants. The learned Commissioner quoted a memorable case, in 1837, when this clause of the Constitution had been considered before the Supreme Court of the United States, the decision on which occasion rendered it impossible to hold other than that apprentices are wholly excluded from having been within the intention of the framers of the Constitution and of the Acts of Congress passed to carry out the true object of this clause, providing for the recovery of fugitives from justice, and fugitive slaves described as held to service or labour. He was of opinion that this point had been so clearly established, that it would not become a Commissioner to initiate a construction which would in truth be adding to "persons held to service or labour," the words "including apprentices and all other servants." In one or two cases which had been decided within the last few years, that is, since 1837, and in which Commissioners had delivered up apprentices, the only question then raised had been the validity of the indentures, but the question now presented had never been raised or adjudicated upon. His deliberate opinion was that the law did not authorize him to grant a certificate empowering the claimant to remove the alleged fugitive or person back to the State from which he was said to have fled, and he should therefore order the apprentice, John Van Orden, to be discharged.

#### THE CHRISTIAN SLAVE-MAIDEN.

'Tis the house of God—speak softly here,  
For the listening angels wait;  
And ever as fall the breath of prayer,  
The tear of sorrow, the sigh of care,  
Swiftly on pinions of love they bear  
The token to heaven's gate.

Lo! a maiden kneeleth, still and meek;  
But a gleam in those dark eyes:  
The clasped hands: and the changing cheek:  
The lips that quiver, but cannot speak:  
All tell of intense desire to seek  
A refuge beyond the skies.

On earth she knoweth no resting place,  
Her future is filled with gloom;  
She yearns for her widowed mother's face,  
She seeks once again her fond embrace,  
And for this they'll sell her to disgrace—  
Oh! better an early tomb.

The dark time cometh—a fearful day—  
And with winning words and mild,

She entreats, implores that she may stay,  
No—all is ready—she must away:  
She can only clasp her hands and pray,  
"O Father, take thou thy child."

Her prayer is heard: in the still night-time,  
Though her mother stands not by,  
Come sister-souls from the heavenly clime,  
And her last sigh, and the wind's low chime,  
Alike are lost in their chant sublime,  
As they bear her to the sky.

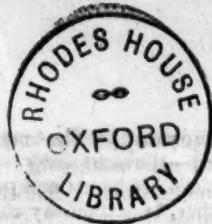
Oh! Church of God—thou Bride of the Lamb,  
Symbol of truth and purity;  
Reflected light of the great "I am,"  
How long, how long shall such things be?  
How long shall a Christian maid be sold,  
To live in shame and infamy?  
How long shall the groveling lust of gold  
Entomb all human modesty?  
Awake! awake—lest thy robe of white,  
Become a scoff and mockery:  
Thy mercy show and display thy might,  
By setting all thy captives free. E. M.  
Bristol, Aug. 1st, 1853.

The above lyric was written for the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and the subject of it is founded on the affecting episode of Emily Russell, narrated in chapter vii., part 3, of the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. She was a beautiful quadroon, a slave in Washington, whose widowed mother had purchased her own freedom, and gone to live in New York. Emily is stated to have been of a gentle disposition and amiable manners: was early imbued with a sense of religion, and was on the point of uniting herself with a Christian Church. At this juncture the property, of which she formed a part, changed hands, and she shared the fate of the other slaves. Having been taken to the slave-pen, a price of eighteen hundred dollars (about £360) was set upon her, in consequence of her great beauty. The enormous sum demanded for her ransom, discouraged immediate effort, and before anything could be done, the coffin was sent away, and Emily along with it.

"From the table of the sacrament, and from the sanctuary of the Church of Christ, this girl was torn away, because her beauty was a saleable article in the slave market of New Orleans!

"There was no eye to pity, and none to help. The food of her accursed lot did not nourish her; the warmest clothing could not keep the chill of slavery from her heart. In the middle of the overland passage, sick, weary, heart-broken, the child laid her down and died. By that lonely pillow there was no mother; but there was one Friend, who loveth at all times, who is closer than a brother. Could our eyes be touched by the seal of faith, where others see only the lonely wilderness and the dying girl, we, perhaps, should see one clothed in celestial beauty, waiting for that short agony to be over, that He might redeem her from all iniquity, and present her faultless before the presence of His grace with exceeding joy."—(*Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*.)

[Frances Russell, the sister of Emily, and one of the victims of the *Pearl*, is now in England.—ED. A.-S. Reporter.]



## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1853.

### NOTICE.

Several letters having been addressed to the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, complaining of its non-arrival, the Editor begs respectfully to inform Subscribers that he has instituted careful inquiry, and has reason to believe that the irregularities complained of arise from the negligence of the Post-office authorities. The *Reporter* is regularly posted on the day of publication, with the name and address of each Subscriber legibly written on the wrapper, and ought to be delivered in due course. The Editor would feel obliged by a line from those Subscribers who have not received their numbers regularly, stating what number is missing, and measures will be taken to bring the subject under the consideration of the proper authorities. It is particularly requested that Subscribers should send their name and address *in full*.

### THE STATE OF JAMAICA.

Since our last issue, the political and financial crisis in Jamaica has evoked a ministerial statement of remedial measures, which the Government proposes to introduce, with a view to do something towards putting an end to the embarrassments which have arisen in the island. On the 30th of June ultimo, the Duke of Newcastle presented to the House of Lords, a lucid exposition of the whole state of matters in Jamaica, somewhat in anticipation of the promised ministerial statement of Lord John Russell, which was only made to the House of Commons on the 4th of August. Most persons will agree, we believe, in the opinion that there is much to be commended in the measures which the Government proposes, and we trust they may prove efficacious to promote the solution of present difficulties, and to secure future harmony.

Lest a reference to the summary of our *West India Intelligence* should not place the reader in full possession of the facts of the case, and of the immediate cause of the rupture between Sir Charles Grey and the Executive Council, and the House of Assembly, we subjoin an outline of the proceedings.

On the 10th of March last, the House of Assembly brought forward a proposition the object of which was to effect a retrenchment of the salaries of the judges and other officers.

A similar measure had been presented on more than one previous occasion, and under somewhat similar circumstances. The proposition in question was rejected by the Executive Council, at their sitting of the 23rd March, on the plea that it paid no regard to existing interests, but reduced all salaries, on a regular scale of 20 per cent., irrespective altogether of the duties performed by the recipients. This elicited angry expressions of feeling from the Assembly, which on the 31st of March proceeded to introduce the annual import bill—then about to expire—but so clogged with restrictions relating to the appropriation of the money to be raised, as to effect that retrenchment of the public expenditure which the Assembly had contemplated by the previous bill. This was in turn rejected, and on the 9th of April, the Governor prorogued the Assembly, in the hope that during the temporary suspension of public business it would come to some other conclusion. The Assembly met again on the 25th, and at once introduced the annual bill for the renewal of the rum duties—then on the point of expiring—but likewise clogging this measure with restrictions analogous to those which had been attached to the bill for the re-imposition of the import duties. As might have been anticipated, the Executive Council threw out this bill also, and the import and rum duties' acts having expired on the 30th of the same month, the whole of the revenue derived from these sources at once ceased. Under these circumstances, the Governor prorogued the Assembly to the 26th of May, the latter having first passed resolutions not to transact any business with the Executive Council. The last accounts are to the effect that no change has taken place in this lamentable state of things, so that public business and affairs in general have come to a dead lock.

Previously to giving an outline of the remedial measures proposed to be introduced by the Home Government, it may be useful to present our readers with a brief sketch of the peculiar constitution of Jamaica, respecting the anomalies of which so much is said, but so little is generally known, and out of which present and past difficulties have arisen. It seems originally to have been conferred by a patent granted by Charles II., and in a short time to have acquired the form it presents at this moment. The authority of the Crown was always practically small in the island, and the dissensions which have disturbed and tormented it for the last thirty years appear to have been ripe at the commencement of the constitution; for similar measures, namely, of refusing revenue-bills, will be found to have been attempted even at that early period. Compared with the population of the island, which amounts in round numbers to about 400,000 souls, the constituency is very limited, not greatly exceeding

3,000 electors. The qualification of the latter is three-fold: 1st, the possession of property worth £10 a-year: 2ndly, a rental of £50 a-year: or 3rdly, a payment of £5 a-year in taxes: all currency. One peculiar anomaly of the constitution of Jamaica is, that the functions of the House of Assembly have never been confined to those acts which are the particular province of representative assemblies—namely, those of legislation—but that they combine legislative, administrative and financial functions. They have not only thus encroached on the proper province of the executive authority in other countries, but to such a length, that even during the prorogation of the Assembly, and for the time following a dissolution until the meeting of the new Assembly, these functions are retained by the members of the Assembly so prorogued or dissolved, in the form of commissioners of public accounts, who carry on these functions through the instrumentality of permanent committees. Instead of the finances of the colony being in any way under the administration and control of the Governor, or of his advisers, as in other colonies, in the Assembly of Jamaica each individual member is entitled to propose any vote of money or money-bill he chooses. The Governor has no government organ in the Assembly, and no means of interfering with, or regulating, or advising the Assembly in this respect. No estimates of the receipt or expenditure of money are annually prepared, or ever submitted to the Assembly before the money votes or bills are proposed. The Assembly, therefore, in the first instance—not as in other places—proposes the money vote, then votes the money bill, and next expends the money so voted and obtained by taxes, making contracts and other arrangements with a view to its expenditure. It proposes—not in separate bills, as in this country, but as a part of the money bill—appropriation clauses, specifying to what particular object the money bill is to be appropriated; and finally, to make the anomaly quite complete, this same body audits the public accounts. The result of such a state of things is, that taxes have been and are constantly being repealed, without much consideration, except so far as they bear on a particular class, and without any as to the effect on the general revenue and expenditure of the colony. Another result has been the infliction on the colony of a very considerable debt, added to which an inconvertible paper currency has for some time existed in the island. Nor is this anomalous and monstrous system confined to the taxes that are collected for the ordinary and public purposes of the colony. The same prevails to a very great extent in regard to the parochial taxation, which is imposed to the amount of £65,000 a-year, and therefore forms a very important item in the financial

condition of the colony. The management of the roads, and all matters of that kind, are under the same system. Another evil is, that the taxes imposed are not rigorously and impartially collected, but are levied according to the favouritism of the ascendant party; and hence has arisen the inefficiency of the revenue of the island to meet its expenditure, and the difficulty consequently experienced in its financial administration. Contracts are also made by this legislative, administrative, and executive body, the inevitable consequence of which is a wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the public funds. But there is a still worse element in the anomalous condition of the affairs of this island. Though there is not even the security of a consolidated fund, the taxes are not made for certain periods of time, but, according to an exceptional precedent furnished by this country, are imposed from year to year, so that nearly the whole of the revenue of the island is raised by annual bills, which extend only over a year, and are, at the expiration of that period, renewed or not, according to the pleasure of the Assembly. The revenue of Jamaica arises from import duties and rum duties, which, in 1852, with the other comparatively unimportant resources of the island, produced a sum of £253,000. Of that amount, the rum duty produced upwards of £45,000, and the import duties £139,000; so that these two taxes alone comprise something like eight-tenths of the whole revenue of the island. The other taxes levied in the island are imposed in the same manner, from year to year.

This brief statement will enable our readers more easily to comprehend the extent of the embarrassment which the refusal of the Assembly to re-open the two principal sources of revenue has caused to the colony; and to place them in ready possession of the whole anomalies of the constitution of Jamaica, we cannot do better than lay before them the admirable comparison between Jamaica and Canada—the freest of our colonial possessions—which the Duke of Newcastle submitted to the House of Lords, on the occasion above referred to:

"In Canada, all bills for the appropriation of the consolidated fund, or the imposition of new taxes, originate from the executive, while in Jamaica all bills for these purposes must originate with the Assembly. In Canada, a responsible Government is entrusted with the executive power, while in Jamaica the Government has no organ whatever of communication with the Assembly. In Canada, votes appropriating the consolidated fund must originate with the Governor, as provided by the Union Act, while in Jamaica the initiation of money votes is not reserved to the executive. In Canada, the principal revenue is secured to a period of some years; but in Jamaica, the principal revenue measures are enacted from year to year. In Canada, there is a fund to provide for

the judicial and other civil establishments of the colony; while in Jamaica, these depend on the yearly enactments. In Canada, the consolidated fund is permanently charged with the expenses of collection, and the public accounts are duly audited by properly appointed officers; but in Jamaica the Assembly constitutes the commissioners of accounts, and as such has the entire control of the whole expenditure, and without its authority no payment can be made. Lastly, in Canada, the municipal administration is regulated by an elaborate act; while, in Jamaica, the local taxation is imposed in the same manner as the public, namely, from year to year, and gives rise to the same evils and disadvantages which result from the financial arrangements of the colony at large."

This comparison exhibits the anomalous and inconveniently extensive powers claimed by the Assembly of Jamaica, and contrasts strikingly with the more modest and legitimate powers possessed and assumed by our House of Commons; which, though jealously vigilant of the House of Lords, with reference to all money bills, has never, we believe, interfered with the executive power of the Government in respect of the expenditure of the money once voted by it, and certainly not in respect of the auditing of the accounts of the money so expended. In fact, the Assembly of Jamaica may be said to combine the functions of three distinct bodies in this country, namely: the House of Commons, the Executive Government, and the Board of Audit; and these different functions are moreover all exercised, not by the head of the Government, but by the persons composing the Assembly, so that the administration is nothing but an oligarchy.

The first step which the Government has deemed it necessary to take, in order to bring about an adjustment of existing difficulties, is the appointment of a successor to Sir Charles Grey, who completed the term of his government on the 21st of December last, and who would have been relieved, if the late Government had remained in office. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord John Russell considered it their duty to state, that Sir Charles Grey's explanations of the course he had felt bound to pursue, under the circumstances in which he was placed, were satisfactory to her Majesty's Government, and that he was considered to have discharged the duties of his office with great ability. His successor is Sir Henry Barkly, late governor of British Guiana, who will proceed to Jamaica with instructions to take every legitimate means in his power for bringing the establishment of the colony, with respect to its expenditure, into a condition suited to its necessities and its financial resources. His salary will be £5,000 a year, being £1,000 less than the present Governor receives, and a reduction on the salaries of former Governors of £3,000. The Government proposes that for the period

of three years, the Imperial Parliament shall vote an annual sum of £3,500 towards the Governor's salary, with a view to render him less dependent upon the annual vote of the Colonial Assembly; the remaining £1,500 to be paid out of the Colonial funds. With reference to the abolition of certain offices which might be found unnecessary, it is proposed—in cases where such reductions are deemed judicious—to grant the holders of them a small amount of compensation, rated at something like two or three years' purchase of their present salaries. To provide the means of doing this, and as the general revenue of the island is barely sufficient to cover the current expenses, the credit of the Imperial Treasury is to be pledged to the amount of £50,000. Respecting the island debt, which at this time is said to be £700,000, inclusive of loans from this country to the amount of about £160,000, the credit of the Imperial Treasury will be thus much further extended so as to enable the island to pay off the debt by a loan at the rate of three per cent. At present, it is paying six per cent. on the gross amount of its debt, (not inclusive of the loans to it by this country,) so that by this arrangement there will be an immediate annual saving effected to the island, of £15,000. Of this it is proposed to set aside about £5,000 or £6,000 a year as a sinking fund, which would place the colonial exchequer in a position to pay off the incumbrance in thirty years. Under present circumstances it is not considered desirable to set aside a larger sum for this purpose. It is quite understood that the basis of the future ameliorations is that of a radical change in the financial department, and it is expected that this change shall take place before the security of this country is pledged to the colony. The details are left to the Governor and to the Assembly, and the Government confidently anticipate that this body shall abandon the position it maintains at present with respect to the finances. Although no change in the representative system is recommended, some modification of it seems to be implied in the observation thrown out by the Duke of Newcastle on the manifest danger of "representative institutions without responsible government; and that it is only by having them in co-operation with the latter that the tendency to encroachments can be checked." His Grace also said that "those interested in this colony must look forward to the time when the black population would seek for greater power, and it was therefore the more incumbent on them to see that a sound system, such as exists in this country, should be introduced." From these observations we may reasonably infer that on the establishment of a really responsible government in Jamaica, some change will be introduced in the basis of its representative institutions, which is likely to comprise a larger proportion of the coloured population.

We may here state, that since the 30th of April last, there has been no revenue collected in Jamaica, with the exception of a few unimportant items; and that the refusal of the Assembly to re-impose the import and the rum duties, has entailed a loss upon the revenue of about £1,000 a day; independently of that which may hereafter be ascertained to have accrued in consequence of the great quantity of articles liable to duty now being imported duty-free, and which is estimated to be considerably larger than can be required for consumption for a long time.

The appointment of Sir Henry Barkly appears to have given very general satisfaction, and we trust he may be as successful in his administration of the affairs of Jamaica, as he has been in those of British Guiana. To use the words of Lord John Russell, on the occasion of his presenting his statement to the House of Commons on the 4th ultimo:—

"The colony of Jamaica is a magnificent colony, in point of soil and production, and if the unfortunate dissensions which have prevailed can be healed, and no causes of future dispute remain—that is to say, no sources of dispute which will lead, as future disputes have done, to such embarrassments that the whole machinery of Government is stopped—we may hope to see the colony of Jamaica succeed at last, as well as Guiana and Trinidad, in recovering from the depression under which it has suffered for some years."

#### SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES' COMMITTEE.

In the last number of the *Reporter* we stated that a Select Committee, moved for by Mr. Joseph Hume, had been appointed to inquire into the treaties and engagements between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, respecting the slave-trade. The members who formed the Committee were Sir Thos. Dyke Acland, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Bright, Lord Goderich, Mr. Alexander Hastic, Mr. Hume, Mr. Hutt, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Moffat, Sir J. Pakington, Sir George Pechell, Lord Stanley, Mr. Strutt, Mr. Tollemache, and Lord Harry Vane.

The Committee, after sitting seven days, between the 12th of July and the 2nd of August last, have completed their investigations, and issued their Report, of which we give a summary.

The attention of the Committee was directed chiefly to the state of the slave-trade in the Brazils and in Cuba; in the colonial possessions of Portugal; Mozambique on the east, and Loando and Angola on the west coast of Africa; and other parts of the west coast, long the principal seats of the slave-trade.

In the years 1849-50 there were twenty-four treaties in force between Great Britain and foreign civilized powers for the suppression

of the slave-trade; ten of which gave the right of search and Mixed Courts; twelve gave the right of search and national tribunals; and two contained a mutual obligation for the maintenance of squadrons on the coast of Africa. There were also forty-two treaties with native chiefs on the coast of Africa.

Since May, 1850, there have been concluded two treaties with civilized Governments, under which captured vessels are to be adjudicated upon by tribunals of their own countries; and twenty-three more treaties with native chiefs of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The slave-trade on the west coast of Africa has been much reduced since 1848.

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham reported, that from the 14th of October, 1847, to the 30th June, 1848, the squadron under his command had captured sixty-five slave-vessels, amounting to 9,168 tons, and containing 4,745 slaves; and that during the previous twelve months, fifty-seven vessels and 4,822 slaves had been captured; while Captain Seymour states that the slave-trade has entirely ceased in many places where it formerly flourished; that in the years 1850-51, not one vessel was captured with slaves on board; that a legitimate trade was springing up along the whole coast in exports of the produce of the country; that he had lately counted at Benguela (formerly a noted slave-port) as many as fourteen merchant vessels at one time, all engaged in legitimate commerce; and that, in fact, "wherever the slave-trade has ceased, commerce is beginning."

The opinion of the Committee is, that if the demand for slaves in Cuba were to cease, the slave-trade would come to an end. So soon as the markets of the Brazils were closed, the slave-trade on the west coast of Africa, south of the line, all but ceased; and when the news of the new regulations at the Brazils arrived on the coast of Martinique, the slave-trade by the Portuguese also ceased, and Spanish ships then took the slaves away to Cuba.

The importation of slaves into the Brazils in the year 1847 was 56,172; in 1848, 60,000; in 1849, 54,000; but in 1851 it had diminished to 3,287, and in 1852 to 700, of which last importation a considerable portion was seized by the Brazilian Government.

Seventy-four slave-trade vessels appear to have sailed from Bahia in 1847, and ninety-three in 1848, and the slave-trade was then carried on with great activity. The *Adorinha*, of eighty tons burden, which cost £2,000 sterling, had made eight successful voyages with slaves from the west coast of Africa, having landed at Bahia 3,392 slaves, and received for freight £40,704 sterling, giving a profit of 800 per cent.

Towards the end of 1850, and in 1851,

stringent orders arrived at Bahia for the suppression of the trade, and at the end of 1851, "the slave-trade was perfectly suspended." If the Brazilian Government continue sincere, it is alleged that the traffic will certainly be put down.

The speech of the Emperor to the Assembly this year on the subject of the slave-trade; the stringent laws that have been passed, and others that are in progress, by the Brazilian Government against the slave-trade; and, above all, the seizure and banishment of some Portuguese merchants who were suspected of an intention to renew the trade, convince the Committee that the Brazilian Government is in earnest, and that the slave-trade is actually stopped in the Brazils.

As respects the slave-trade of Spain, in 1848-49 the trade with Cuba had almost entirely ceased; but subsequently to that period, according to the report of the British Consul at Havana, negroes were introduced at various places along the coast of the island, with the most perfect impunity, and, it is believed, with the knowledge of the Spanish authorities.

Attention is directed to the evidence of Captain Hamilton on his late proceedings at the Havana, where he captured four vessels under circumstances which appear to have made a strong impression on the Spanish authorities there. He also reports the great publicity that exists as to the carrying on of the slave-trade in the island; that slave vessels have been fitted out under the guns of Spanish ships of war; that great facilities are afforded for the importation of negroes, as, when once a landing is effected, they are considered as natives; and that steam vessels employed in carrying the Government mails from port to port, have been used to land slaves.

That the great number of American ships trading to the Havana, and the abuse of the American flag, increase the difficulties of her Majesty's cruisers on that station in the visiting of suspected vessels; and that some more cordial co-operation on the part of the United States would materially assist the efforts to abolish the slave-trade in that quarter.

Mr. Kennedy's evidence deserves particular attention, and will account fully for the alterations that have taken place in the slave-trade of Cuba at different periods. The history given by him of the conduct of seven successive Captains-General, during the 13 years he resided at Havana, shows that the slave-trade has increased or decreased in Cuba, according to the conduct of the Captain-General and other public officers.

It was notorious, Mr. Kennedy states, that up to the year 1840, the Captain-General of Cuba received a fee of half-a-doubloon for every slave introduced into the island, and therefore the trade flourished; that during the two years and a half of General Valdes'

Government, from 1840-41 to 1843, fees were refused by him, and the trade having been at the same time forbidden, had nearly ceased; but that from the arrival of General O'Donnell in 1843, the fee was raised to three doubloons for each slave imported, and was received by him all the time he was there; that the same fee has continued to be received since that time by some Captains-General, but not by all. In 1850, General Concha was six or eight months there, and made known his determination not to accept any fees; and he also took active measures to put down the trade, but he was soon recalled; and it was generally understood that his recall was owing to the measures which he had taken to put down the slave-trade. Other witnesses bore testimony to the same fact, and stated further, that capital, notoriously belonging to Spaniards of great distinction at Madrid, was employed to carry on the traffic; that the influence of these persons of rank and station at Madrid is believed to be sufficiently powerful to procure the recall of any honest officer; that thus the Spanish Government have been induced to violate their treaties, and to suffer these persons to obtain large profits by the continuance of the detestable traffic.

The Committee allege that history does not record a more decided breach of national honour than the letter of the Earl of Aberdeen, of the 31st December, 1843, establishes against Spain. Later correspondence between Lord Howden and the Spanish Minister, requesting the Spanish Government only to declare the slave-trade to be piracy, shows that this moderate request of the British Government has been disregarded, and there is little hope that reason or justice will prevail with the Spanish Government to abolish the trade. The last despatches of the British Consul at Havana, however, dated 21st and 25th of June, 1853, report "that there is a manifest difference in the measures adopted by the Government of Cuba to check the alarming extent of the slave-trade."

The Committee of the Lords had stated that in their judgment it was worthy of consideration whether the three powers, France, the United States, and Great Britain, could not be brought to combine in joint representations, and, if need be, in active measures for obtaining an actual suppression of the traffic. The Committee observe that it is a matter of great surprise, while Spain is at this time indebted to England and France for their efforts to form a tripartite convention with the United States in order to protect Cuba from piratical attacks, that the Spanish Government should not take warning from the fact, that one of the reasons alleged by the Government of the United States for not joining in this convention, was the continuance of the slave-trade in the island.

With relation to Portugal, her sovereignty extends for about 1,500 miles on the east coast of Africa, where the slave-trade is carried on chiefly by Spaniards for the importation of slaves thence to Cuba. Slaves have been also sent to the north, to Zanzibar, from that coast.

The Portuguese authorities are said to be both cognizant of the slave-trade and to enter into it themselves. It is set forth that Great Britain agreed, by treaty in 1815, to pay £801,771 7s. 9d., part of a loan raised in England for the service of Portugal, and to pay all future half-yearly dividends accruing thereon.

Also, in pursuance of a convention of January, 1815, Great Britain paid to Portugal the further sum of £348,904, which two sums amount to a principal of £950,675; to which, if the interest paid thereon be added, the total amount of £2,850,965 will be found to have been paid by Great Britain for the promised concurrence of Portugal in the abolition of the slave-trade.

By treaty with Spain, dated 23rd of September, 1817, Great Britain paid in the year 1818 the sum of £400,000; and if the interest on that sum be added, the total charge to Great Britain will amount to £1,134,179, paid for the concurrence of Spain in the same object. Beside these sums, there was voted, in the year 1820 and 1821, the sum of £225,000, to indemnify claimants for Portuguese vessels and cargoes captured by British cruisers.

These payments, however, bear but a small proportion of the expense which Great Britain has incurred. To these must be superadded the expense of maintaining ships of war on the coast of Africa and America.

We may observe that the Report comes to a very abrupt termination, and contains no suggestions for the accomplishment of the object for which the treaties were concluded.

#### AFRICAN EMIGRATION.

A brief conversation took place in the House of Lords, on the 30th of June last, on the subject of African Emigration, in the course of which some facts were mentioned that are deserving of record.

"Lord BROUHAM wished to ask the Secretary for the Colonies whether he was aware of a proclamation of Governor Roberts, of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, dated the 6th of February last, and if so, whether he would have any objection to lay before the House a copy of the contract mentioned therein between her Britannic Majesty's Government and Messrs. Hyde and Hodges, for furnishing free negro labour for one or other of our West India colonies. The statement of Governor Roberts was, that those contractors had made an advance of ten dollars on the market-price of these unhappy beings. Governor Roberts added, that it was well known to those acquainted

with that mystery of iniquity, the slave-trade, that ten dollars was the original market-price of negroes, and stated that the advance had been instantly grasped at by the native chiefs, who kept all the negroes they had possession of at that time in houses, which, by a gross abuse of language, were termed 'houses of refuge,' but which ought rather to be called 'houses of torment,' where they were detained by hundreds until they could be disposed of to the contractors. But not content with keeping those they had, it appeared the chiefs had already resorted to the old, accustomed, and ordinary means of increasing their numbers by encouraging wars and pillage in the neighbouring districts. The governor naturally said, that he thought all our efforts had been directed to the extinction of the slave-trade, but the consequences of this system were rather to encourage it, and he had issued this proclamation, which was all he could do, pointing out the danger of carrying off these persons, as he suspects against their will, although alleged to be embarked as free emigrants, and he warns masters of ships, and others, to be most strict in the regularity of their passengers, so as to avoid being made the instruments in carrying on this new form of slave-trade.

"The Duke of NEWCASTLE had not seen the proclamation referred to, but was aware of the transaction to which the noble and learned lord had alluded. Some time ago, an arrangement was made, with the sanction of the Colonial Office, by which Messrs. Hyde and Hodges agreed, for a certain stipulated amount, to introduce free emigrants from Western Africa into one of our colonies—he believed it was Guiana. He was well aware of the great risk of allowing any traffic of this kind to go on without the most careful watchfulness on the part of her Majesty's Government, not only to prevent abuse arising in it, by which it might become a modified form of slave-trade, but even to guard against its giving rise to the smallest suspicion of such a thing. His attention had been more than once drawn to the circumstance, that although such an emigration might be safely conducted in the hands of parties of the great respectability and eminence of Messrs. Hyde and Hodges, and though he believed that firm had carried out the arrangement in a most praiseworthy manner, there was a danger of its degenerating into something like the slave-trade of other parties, if competition were permitted. He had no objection to produce the contract, or arrangement, on the subject, but it would be desirable to accompany it with other documents, and correspondence between the Colonial Office, the Emigration Commissioners, and the West India colonies, to which these emigrants were carried, in order that his noble and learned friend might thoroughly understand, not only the nature of the transaction, but the care which had been exhibited by her Majesty's Government to prevent the system degenerating into a slave-trade.

"Earl GRAY said, it was only just to Messrs. Hyde and Hodges to state how this matter arose. In the year 1847, at a time when the West India colonies were in a state of the greatest distress, it was arranged that liberated Africans wrested from the slavers, and negro emigrants volunteering to go to the colonies, instead of being sen-

there at the expense of the colonies themselves, should be conveyed at the expense of this country. Messrs. Hyde and Hodges, highly respectable ship-owners, entered into a contract to perform that service. They had executed it in the most satisfactory manner; and whereas previously there had been the greatest difficulty in conveying Africans to the West India colonies without very formidable mortality in the vessels employed for that service, after it had been put in the hands of Messrs. Hyde and Hodges, by the excellence of their arrangements, these liberated Africans were transferred to the colonies with a singularly low amount of mortality. In some instances there had been a single death on board, and in many other not above four or five. It had long been the study of the Government of this country to encourage as far as possible the free emigration of Africans to the West India colonies, and he had no hesitation in saying that it was a great national object to encourage that emigration. Various attempts had been made to obtain labourers, and particularly from that part of Africa where slavery did not exist, called the Kroo coast; and while he was Secretary for the Colonies, Messrs. Hyde and Hodges offered, at their own risk, to endeavour to obtain free emigrants from that part of the coast, and by conveying them to the colonies, they would be entitled to a certain bounty paid under the colonial law for each emigrant introduced into those colonies. The experiment was first made in Guiana, and Messrs. Hyde and Hodges undertook to make that experiment; but in making it, it was laid down as a strict rule that they were not under any circumstances to purchase persons to be sent over, because, although there were many gentlemen connected with the West Indies, who had long urged that persons might be allowed to buy negroes in Africa for the purpose of liberating them in the West Indies, he had always strenuously resisted such a plan, and for this reason—that although by allowing slaves to be purchased it was quite true they might save individuals from a worse fate, by rescuing prisoners who might otherwise be put to death, and delivering captives from hopeless slavery, still the ultimate effect would be to re-establish the internal slave-trade in Africa. Therefore, although he had been frequently urged to relax the regulation which had been laid down in that respect, he had never allowed any system of emigration to be carried on that did not afford perfect security that money would never be given in any shape to persons in Africa to induce negroes to emigrate, because he was convinced, that however strictly such a system might be regulated, as soon as they allowed it to be understood that £3 or £4 was to be obtained by producing a man called a voluntary emigrant from the coast of Africa, those voluntary emigrants would be produced by an internal slave-trade. On that ground he had always resisted such a thing; and from what he knew of Messrs. Hyde and Hodges, their respectable character, and the manner in which they had performed the service entrusted to them, he considered they were not likely to encourage such a transaction.

"Lord BROUGHAM said his knowledge was entirely taken from this proclamation of Governor Roberts, in which there might, undoubtedly, be a

mis-statement. What was said last by the noble earl he considered most important, for the total prohibition of all purchase was a most necessary part of any such arrangement."

We think it ought to be known that a large number of the inhabitants of Liberia, manumitted slaves and others, who were originally conveyed thither from the United States of America, under the auspices of the *Colonization Society*, are known to have taken advantage of the offer of Messrs. Hyde, Hodges, and Co., and to have found their way to British Guiana and elsewhere, in the capacity of emigrant labourers. The refusal of the authorities at Monrovia readily to grant passports to those who are desirous of leaving the country, and the placing of other obstructions in their way, have had the effect of encouraging a considerable immigration of Liberians to Sierra Leone, where the facilities for repairing to the West Indies are greater, and where they are beyond the jurisdiction of the republic.

These facts may, perhaps, throw a new light upon the object of the proclamation of President Roberts.

#### THE MAURITIUS.

We subjoin from the *Commercial Gazette* of the 8th of June ultimo, some highly interesting information relating to the general state and prospects of this colony, with a summary of the returns of its import and export trade. The weather was favourable, and the new crop of sugar promised to realise the expectations of the planters. The estimate had been raised from 85,000 to 90,000 tons. Rates of wages were moderate, and contentment is said to prevail amongst all classes. The shipments of the old crop had nearly ceased, 76,000 tons having been exported; of which, 66,000 tons had been sent to England, and the remainder to Australia and the Cape. The colonists appear to anticipate a considerable accession to their trade by the extensive demand to which the discovery of gold in Australia has given rise. The *Commercial Gazette* observes:

"It is with no little satisfaction that we watch the increasing wealth and population of Australia, as a market is rising up there that will eventually take from us a fourth or fifth of our production. The news that we continue to receive, both privately and through the European journals, is far from creating any apprehensions as to the competition of beet sugar. The producing capabilities of this colony have yet to be put to the test. Every year we are reducing the cost of production—every year we find the field still vast for further reductions. Cheap labour has greatly aided us; guano is doing wonders on land in the interior; superior cultivation and rotation of crops (assolement), and improvement and economy in manufacture, are all contributing to this main object. Any one who visited this

colony some years ago would now see a vast amelioration in the manner of cultivating the plantations; the cane is less frequently abandoned after it has yielded several crops; the land is tilled and replanted with other plants which enrich it, and in two or three years it is ready for cane again. The produce of land manured with guano is enormous, and upwards of 10,000 tons were used last year. With regard to manufacture, we are kept in a state of uncertainty. One day we are led to hope that our sugars will be refined in bond, and only pay on the weight that comes out of bond; shortly afterwards we learn from another Chancellor of the Exchequer that he regrets his 'Government has discovered no method of granting that privilege in the present state of the law on sugar which would be satisfactory to the West Indians and to the refining trade, and which at the same time would not inflict a very heavy loss upon the revenue.' If we are not to be allowed to refine in bond, why then we shall think more seriously of competing with the refiners by sending to England a sugar fit for consumption. Even here we are obliged to hesitate, as the present improvements will probably be surpassed by others which will throw the vacuum pan into the shade. It will be for our benefit to see the sugar question definitively set at rest, and to see the new improvements in manufacture put into practice."

During the last three crops the quantity exported to Australia has been as follows:

1850-51 .....	5,497,469lbs.
1851-52 .....	9,271,123
1852-53 estimated .....	15,000,000

The total shipments to all parts, of the old crop, had been as follows:

	lbs.
Shipped & left to 6th June, 1853 ....	150,667,674
" " 1852 ....	125,998,429
" " 1851 ....	109,167,855
" " 1850 ....	113,032,713

By estimating the crop at 77,000 tons, at £15 per ton, the total value to the colony is about £1,155,000; and as the next crop promises to be larger, whilst the imports are not excessive, there is likely to be a still greater balance of trade in favour of the colony. With regard to public improvements, it is of considerable importance to the mercantile interest connected with the Mauritius to learn that there is a prospect of the heavy charges of lightage, &c., being shortly done away with. The Mauritius Dock Company possess a tongue of land in the middle of the harbour of Port Louis, where they are erecting docks and wharfs, and deepening the passage. A large iron store is to be erected, 300 feet long and 50 feet in breadth, to be enlarged as trade increases. The question of constructing a line of railway round the coast, with the object of expediting the passage of produce to market, was attracting serious attention. The opinions of practical persons had been obtained as to the construction of a line through Pamplemousses, Rivière du Rempart, and Flacq, and they have estimated the cost

at only £5,000 per mile. The *Commercial Gazette* observes:

" We feel satisfied that every proprietor would gladly give the land required. Following the coast, the distance of the whole line to Grand River, south east from Port Louis, would be about thirty-five miles, and the principal part of the produce of the colony would then be conveyed by the rail. The three districts named make upwards of 50,000 tons of sugar; and if the sugar of Grand Port could be conveyed to the terminus inside the reefs by a small iron steamer of the proposed line at Grand River South East, it would add 15,000 tons more. The success of the line once established, what would hinder another line through the district of Grand Port that would take the sugar of Savanna as well as that of Grand Port, and if conveyed from thence to Grand River would add another 10,000 tons to the main line, in all 75,000 tons ?

" The transport of grain and other goods from Port Louis would be fully equal to this quantity. We say nothing about the different vegetable productions that would be daily sent to Port Louis, nor of the quantity of fish that would be conveyed from the prolific coasts of Flacq and Pamplemousses. The passenger traffic will also form an important item of revenue.

" A single line of road would be all that is required here, and we are satisfied that it would be contracted for at less than £5,000 a mile. Of course, we do not expect to find the capital in the colony; but if the Government would guarantee 5 per cent., and the landed proprietors come forward and offer the land required for nothing, we see no reason why the subject should not be taken up seriously in England. We have given some idea of the present extent of traffic, but it is impossible to say to what rate it will increase when a railroad runs through the most productive part of the country. With the traffic as it is, it seems to us there is every possibility of a fair return for the outlay, if our estimate of cost is not far below the mark. It will be found that, notwithstanding the rise in the price of materials, freight, &c., and the obstacles to be encountered in the way of irregular surface, large rivers, ravines, &c., £9,000 per mile would be the total expenditure, including rolling stock. We call on all who are interested to consider whether the subject of a railroad here is not worthy of their serious and immediate attention. It will add greatly to the value of property, reduce the cost of production as well as of the articles of consumption received in such large quantities from town, and will place the planters in more constant communication with the centre of commerce, and greatly add to the riches and prosperity of this colony."

A return of the revenue and expenditure for the first quarter of the present year, ending 5th April last, had been issued, which shows a falling off in the former, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, of about £10,863, the totals being as under:

Total revenue, first quarter of 1852, £89,046 8s. 11½d.; do., 1853, £78,183 13s. 2½d.

The falling off is chiefly in the customs and harbour dues. With regard to the ex-

penditure, the total has scarcely varied. It is as follows:

1st quarter of 1852 .....	£20,586 18 14
" " 1853 .....	20,956 8 4½

The other items do not vary materially, with the exception of immigration. In the first quarter of last year £25,000 were paid for arrears for immigration, which makes that difference in the total as follows:

1st quarter of 1852 .....	£68,613 17 8½
" " 1853 .....	41,028 9 10

The total revenue and receipts amount to £78,183 13s. 2½d., whilst the total expenditure is only £41,028, 9s. 10d.; showing a balance in favour of the Government of about £36,000. But it appears that there are several charges due but not paid, which would materially reduce this amount. Nearly £12,000 was due for steam communication and immigration. The average revenue, however, far exceeds the estimates. A statement of the value of the imports and exports to and from the colony during the same period shows a large falling-off in the former as compared with the corresponding period of last year, say to the extent of £43,851, but an increase in the latter of £77,313. Upon a comparison of the imports and exports for the first quarter of the present year only, there appears an excess of the latter over the former to the extent of £198,410. The following is a table of the imports and exports for both periods:

#### IMPORTS.

	1852.	1853.
Great Britain..	£47,339 3 6	£54,589 19 2
France .....	22,792 7 3	10,350 11 1
Cape .....	11,258 4 7	8,153 2 6
Réunion.....	2,038 1 4	875 0 0
Madagascar ..	1,725 10 0	2,837 3 0
Brava.....	204 0 0	2,140 0 0
B. C. India ..	91,871 8 10	58,000 8 5
Ceylon .....	888 6 0	2,043 14 0
Singapore .....	1,329 5 0	508 8 0
Australia .....	8,891 6 0	10,003 0 8
Pondicherry ..	143 1 4	555 2 0
Batavia .....	259 6 11	—
Timor.....	135 17 10	—
Muscat .....	840 12 6	781 18 0
Halifax .....	679 0 0	1,340 0 0
United States ..	6,413 17 7	1,326 1 0
Lima .....	268 5 10	—
Montevideo ..	843 5 3	2,540 0 0
Patagonia .....	2,000 0 0	740 0 0
Fisheries .....	2,577 11 6	—
Sweden .....	—	430 0 0
Zanzibar .....	—	91 13 4
N. F. Land ..	—	861 4 0
Ichaboe.....	—	490 0 0
	£202,498 11 3	£158,647 5 2

#### EXPORTS.

Great Britain, £227,879 3 2	£302,707 13 2
France.....	368 12 0
Cape .....	32,807 8 10

#### EXPORTS—continued.

	1852.	1853.
Réunion .....	£1,036 17 0	£1,352 15 0
Madagascar ..	53 16 0	1,626 18 7
B. C. India ..	891 7 11	1,335 16 8
Ceylon.....	131 10 0	127 12 0
Australia .....	14,924 3 7	31,685 17 6
Penang .....	54 9 0	—
Pondicherry ..	989 2 3	196 8 0
Muscat .....	608 2 0	126 15 0
Brava.....	—	6 0 0
Johanna.....	—	69 10 0
Zanzibar .....	—	80 0 0
	£279,744 11 9	£357,057 2 8

#### SPECIE IMPORTED.

Great Britain..	£40,800 0 0	£29,038 0 0
Cape .....	24,135 11 0	2,350 0 0
B. C. India ..	916 13 4	275 0 0
Ceylon .....	—	916 13 4

#### £65,852 4 4 £32,579 13 4

#### SPECIE EXPORTED.

B. C. India ..	£2,200 0 0	£1,588 7 0
Pondicherry .....	2,099 13 6	7,266 13 4

The returns relating to Coolie immigration are as follow:

	Men.	Women.
Number of immigrants introduced during the quarter ending 5th April, 1853..	1,083 ..	282
Number before 1843.....	25,014 ..	1,014
Number since .....	101,218 ..	19,351
Births.....	6,066 ..	5,667
	133,381	26,314

Departures..	32,203 ..	3,235
Deaths .....	19,918 ..	3,271

#### 52,121 .. 6,506

Remaining in the colony 31st March.....	81,260	19,808
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The mortality during the three months had been 583, or a little more than 2 per cent. per annum. Only 291 male, and 49 female emigrants, 340 in all, had left during the quarter, which is far below the average of former years. Since the date of the above return, about 1,400 additional Coolies had arrived from India.

#### BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

Since our last we have received the following:

The *Handsworth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, instituted August, 1840. Its organization is independent, and it embraces the free-labour movement. It originally collected, for general anti-slavery purposes, about £20 annually, but this sum has since been diminished.

We have also received, from the Secretary of the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Association*, the subjoined copy of a resolution passed at the

first general meeting of the committee held on the 26th of April last.

"That a copy of *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or, if preferred, of the *Advocate*, be supplied monthly to subscribers of five shillings per annum; and that the *Advocate* be sent to those subscribing half-a-crown."

We think the example set by this Association is worth being extensively imitated by others.

### WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

A public meeting in commemoration of the above event was held on Monday evening, the 1st ultimo, at Crosby-hall, Bishopsgate-street. George Thompson, Esq., in the chair. The speakers were, Mr. W. Wells Brown, J. M. M'Kim, Esq., Secretary of the *Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society*; Professor Allen, of New York; and the Rev. E. Matthews, of Wisconsin, Ohio.

After some interesting addresses, of which our limited space precludes us from furnishing any extracts, the following resolution was carried, and the meeting separated.

"Resolved: That this meeting has listened with deep interest to the addresses of William Wells Brown, James Miller M'Kim, Professor Allen, and the Rev. E. Matthews, and would assure them of their deep sympathy in the cause they have so earnestly pleaded, and their inflexible attachment to the principles upon which that cause is founded; and would also pledge their co-operation to effect the overthrow of slavery in America, by the use of all justifiable moral means."

### REVIEWS.

#### *British Philanthropy and Jamaica Distress.*

This is the title of an article to be found in the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* for April last, an earlier notice of which, press of matter has prevented our inserting. It is in most respects an admirably written paper, deserving of careful perusal. The object of the author is to demonstrate that the present depressed state of the West Indies is not attributable to emancipation, but to other causes, of which many, and the chief of them, were under the control of the planters themselves. With a view not to lay himself open to the charge of partiality to the philanthropists, he selects Jamaica as the test of the superiority of philanthropic principles, because it is by far the most important of our sugar colonies, and contained more than half our slaves at the time of emancipation. He shows that since this important period in the history of our West India colonies, the export of sugar from Jamaica has fallen off 40 per cent., rum 20 per cent., and coffee little less than 70 per cent.; and to

enable his readers to comprehend the causes of this contrast, he says: "we must take them further back in the history of Jamaica than the abolition of either apprenticeship or slavery, or even of the slave-trade; to that golden age when Kingston was an Havannah, with even more wealth and less humanity."

Our author commences by presenting what we believe to be a tolerably accurate picture of the fearful waste of human life that took place at the time when West India fortunes were quickly made; when "the monied magnates of the last century, escaping from yellow fever and mosquitoes, came home to invest the spoils of the whip in West-end palaces and territorial domains," and the great West India interest sprang into existence. He gives us the rise and progress of absenteeism, and demonstrates how it led to extravagance, embarrassments, mortgaging, and general mismanagement of the estates: the slave shirking as much of his work as he could; the agent either imitating the expensive habits of his employer, or striving to make the plantation worthless, in order to get it at a cheap bargain for himself; the manager or merchant in England supplying the estate with goods that were not wanted, for the sake of the commission on the expenses, and caring little for a loss on the imports, because it forced the owner to pledge him the coming crop and pay him more commission on loans and sales: in fact, everyone concerned—save the proprietor—seeking his own interest, and so that he made profit for himself caring nothing about any one else. Referring next to documentary evidence showing that even when the colonists held the monopoly of the home-market, the interruptions to Jamaica prosperity were frequent, that estates were largely encumbered and extensively abandoned, and that the "distress" amongst the planters was altogether irrespective of any act of the Government's, the writer brings us down to the period of freedom, slightly glancing at the servile wars which disfigured the history of Jamaica during slavery.

His exposure of the apprenticeship system is masterly, and we would strongly recommend this section of the paper to the careful perusal of those who believe that in the final solution of the great problem of humanity, freedom *versus* slavery, the preparation of a man for his birthright is an essential element of success. Under the circumstances, a bargain-making between men newly freed, and those who had only just ceased to hold them as property, was likely to prove a delicate and a difficult transaction. Had the regulation of it been left to the natural law of supply and demand, it is probable some time must have elapsed before the mean rate of the value of the labour to the wages could have been settled; but to this mode of adjust-

ment, which was the only equitable one, the writer shows that the bargain was not kept. The planters, accustomed to exact the largest amount of labour under a system of compulsory servitude, sought to procure as much as they could at the lowest rate. They resorted to means contrary alike to the laws of justice and political economy; exacting high rents that the free negroes might be forced to accept low wages or be ejected from their tenements; setting a high value upon those who desired to buy themselves from apprenticeship in order to realize emancipation at once; and thus putting it into the head of the labourer to ask too much, whilst the employer sought to make him take too little: the result of which, and similar odious proceedings was simply that not sufficient labour was given at any price at all; hence the diminution of labour and consequently of produce. Taking all the facts into account, our author states, that the history of the first two years of the apprenticeship system clearly established: 1st, That, as a rule, the blacks were willing to give a fair day's work for a fair day's wages; 2ndly, That, as a rule, the whites did not offer them this fair day's wages; and lastly, that therefore they did not get the fair day's work. Thus by trying, as in the time of slavery, to deprive the labourer of his due share of the produce of his toil, the planters lessened the whole produce, and consequently their share in it. By trying to compel the free man to work as a slave, they only compelled him to work for himself, and thereby entailed upon themselves a diminished supply of labourers, and a necessity for a higher rate of wages. Another erroneous step was the taxing of those commodities of which the freed negro consumed by far the largest proportion, which ultimately had the effect of discouraging the labourer from working for hire, and encouraging him to cultivate provisions on his own account. Then arose the idea of supplying by immigration, the labour that was wanting. The example of the Mauritius operated harmfully in this respect. But the Coolie immigration turned out a glaring failure. The men imported were the offscourings of Indian towns, and utterly unfit for field labour; many of them were diseased, and most of them inefficient. They proved to be not worth keeping; numbers ran away from the estates to which they had been assigned, and "wandered about half-naked and half-starved, living in wayside ditches or dens in the towns, infecting the negroes with their idleness, profligacy and paganism, until in 1851, of the 4,500 originally imported, scarcely half remained alive." The last account of the remnant is to the effect that "the Assembly refuses to pay for their return to India, though they had come solely on the solemn pledge that at the expiration of their contract they should

be thus returned." The attempt to procure Kroomen from Africa proved equally abortive, as did the intermediate project of employing Irish, Portuguese, and Maderians. But the Krooman immigration threatened to develop another evil, namely, a disguised slave-trade. This alone would have been fatal to the attempt, had it not received a mortal blow from the discovery that there were not more than 30,000 of them, and that "under the most favourable circumstances, not more than 1,000 Kroo emigrants could be obtained annually for the whole West Indies."

If, under these circumstances, the production of the island of Jamaica for the three years ending 1847 increased, as it undoubtedly did, fourteen per cent. on the average export of the three years after the apprenticeship, it was in spite of the abortive and expensive attempts to procure immigrants, and not owing to the competition they are imagined to have excited. This at least is the opinion of our author, and matters appeared to be improving, when the Sugar-duties Act of 1846 was passed. The effect of this measure—irrespective of the stimulus it gave to the slave-trade—was to reduce the price of sugar 30 per cent., and increase the embarrassments of the already embarrassed planters.

At this point the writer comments upon the difference between Jamaica, Cuba, and the Brazils, with a view to show the unfairness of the present contest between our colonies and the foreign ones. He comes to the conclusion that it could not be expected that without long probation, freed labour would become a match for slave labour when backed by the slave-trade, because the slave-owner caring less for condition than work, it pays him to get work even at the cost of the lives of the victims he has purchased; whilst, on the other hand, the hope of gain being a less powerful stimulus to labour than the fear of death, fails under present circumstances to induce the freed negro to work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four under a tropical sun. He adds: "It will, we fear, need many a mechanical invention, and much more skill in its application and management than Jamaica, as yet, can furnish, before such hand-labour as this can be contended with."

Interrupting our author here, for a few moments, we are inclined to doubt whether he has taken the soundest view of this difficult question. He certainly has not adopted the most encouraging one, for his remarks tend directly to enforce the opinion that the stimulus of the lash will extort more continuous labour than the stimulus of adequate remuneration: in other words, that coercion is a more powerful stimulus to exertion than self-interest. It may appear that, in this one instance, facts point to this conclusion, but we

submit that we have not the whole facts. We ought to know how much land was under cultivation to produce the Jamaica crops of the three years of which the average is given; how many labourers were employed upon the land; what was the average rate of wages they received, and whether that rate was a fair one; all other circumstances taken into account. We should then go back to the time of slavery, taking a similar account of production, ascertain how many slaves were under coercion to raise it, how long they wrought, and what proportion the value of their toil bore to the price that was paid for themselves, and to the cost of their maintenance. Had we such data as these, we might be able to form a decided opinion; and, unless we are greatly mistaken, such data would establish a large balance in favour of the freed man. In the absence of them, we think it is scarcely fair—it is certainly not encouraging—to subject freed labour to a test which is obviously one-sided, and thus furnish the slaveholder with an additional argument in favour of his system.

Our author glances briefly at the circumstances which contributed to drive slave-grown sugars into the English markets, and refers to the cheapness of the sugars which came from Java and the East Indies; importations that necessarily operated to the disadvantage of the West India colonies, especially of Jamaica, which further suffered an awful loss of her labouring population by the cholera in 1851, and the small-pox in 1852, reducing it by nearly twenty thousand souls. He then enumerates these various causes, ascribing Jamaica distress not to emancipation, but to them conjointly, and particularly to the fact that the planters in their treatment of the labourers, imitated the slave-owners, *as slave-owners*, too much, and too little as men of business.

As one means of giving to the West India sugar-producers "the breathing-time necessary to enable them to start fair with all competitors," the writer advocates a small differential duty in their favour. We are unfortunate enough to differ from him, on this point. We do not think a differential duty would accomplish the object, unless it were considerable and permanent. It would no doubt make the crop just so much more remunerative, at the expense of the consumer, but the increase would go, in the first instance, into the pockets of the mortgagees, or of those who hold liens on the estates. Until these were discharged, the proprietors would benefit little, if any at all. On the broad grounds, therefore, of financial impolicy, we think a differential duty decidedly unadvisable; but on the higher grounds of its being a simple act of justice to those who are endeavouring to compete with slave-produce, which, as the writer truly says, "is stolen goods," we consider it is imperatively called

for, and that the West India planters have reason to complain of its being withheld.

As a means of supplying the labour that it is alleged is needed, our author advocates the encouraging of an immigration of the free coloured people of America, in preference to any other. He considers the difficulties and evils of Coolie, African, or Chinese immigration to be too great to be easily overcome. On the other hand, he briefly ennumerates the disadvantages under which they labour in the States, and the advantages, including naturalisation after a year's residence, which they would acquire by settling in Jamaica, where the legislature, the bar, the medical profession, the church, commerce, literature and agriculture are all open to them. On this subject, however, he says, and with these extracts we will conclude our notice:

"We are aware that we are treading on tender ground, and that some of the best of the coloured men, and many of their sincerest friends, think that in hope of aiding their enslaved brethren, they ought, under whatever obloquy or persecution, to remain citizens of the Republic. It is not for us to mark out for them their course, and yet we cannot but think that by no possible means could they so effectually aid the American slave, as by teaching energy and industry to the free British negro, and by hastening forward, by their precept and example, that time when from Jamaica and her kindred isles, the voice of a negro community, prosperous, educated, civilized, Christian, shall speak to republican despots and their victims words which both will hear, and which the former will not disregard. And that this time will come, we hold to be no vain prophecy, foolish as to many it may seem. We have faith in it, because we see it written in the page of history, in the experience of the Anglo-Saxon, that he cannot toil in these islands or make a home of them, and of the African that he can; because we see already foreshadowings of its fulfilment, in the progress which, since his feet have been unshackled, this African HAS made. A progress which, in spite of its occasional tarrings or backward steps, is greater than has ever in like period been made by Anglo-Saxon. Not but that before this prophecy is fulfilled, there needs much work to be done. First, and most especially, there needs an entire abolition not only of slavery, but of the slave-owning spirit: there must be a complete emancipation of the whites from slave-owning habits, feelings, and prejudices; all traces of the old régime must be swept from the statute-book, and the magistrates must forget that it ever existed. There needs also a fairer arrangement of the taxes, and both a more economical and a more appropriate expenditure of them. \* \* \* The necessity of an Encumbered Estates Act requires no enforcement, for the arguments which induced its introduction into Ireland apply with far greater force to Jamaica, where so many of the owners of property are too poor, too ignorant, or too far off to fulfil its duties; and indeed, until such owners cease to cumber the estates, we hardly see how that division of labour in the production of the main staple of the island

can be effected, which gives the best hope of its future economical prosperity, namely; the substitution of peasant sugar-growers supplying with canes the 'central mills' of manufacturers, for absentee proprietors managing by bailiffs both an enormous farm and a difficult manufacture. And lastly, there needs a supply of foreign labour, not indeed from Africa or India, nor yet only from America, but from England: there needs now, and will need for many years, a continuous immigration of English ministers and schoolmasters. The missionary societies have, we believe, felt it right to withdraw some of their labourers from the West Indies, and to send them to break up fresh soil, or to till fields yet more waste; if such has been their decision, no suggestion of ours would change it, but we believe that every post gives them more and more reason to reconsider it; proves to them more and more plainly that their aid to the negro *has* been effectual, and *is* wanted, and reminds them that the debt owing to him by British Christians, for ills inflicted or connived at, is even yet far from paid. The English Church especially may remember, that if she had done her duty to the slave; if she had even given work in proportion to her hire, the freed men would not need so much of her assistance now. Would that in future she may contend earnestly with the 'sectaries,' not as to who shall most possess the negro brain with special dogmas—for whatever he be, the negro is no controversialist—but as to who shall most quickly exorcise those fiends of sensuality, sloth, and falsehood, which slavery has left to haunt him. \* \* \* We can only add, that if we have been able to prove that in Jamaica freedom does work better than did slavery, and philanthropy has not been a folly, our task would have been even yet easier in any other of our West India possessions, from Barbadoes, where the population is more dense than in China, to British Guiana, where it is almost as scanty as in Australia."

*Bread upon the Waters.* London: W. and F. G. Cash; Edinburgh: John Menzies; Dublin: J. B. Gilpin.

This is a little book, neatly got up, containing six letters, "illustrative, moral and practical, addressed to the women of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of the *Stafford-House Memorial* recently transmitted to the women of the United States; concluding with an appeal to gentlemen connected with the cotton question." The writer is a lady, whose name does not appear on the title-page, but whose earnestness in the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause is manifest in every line she has penned. It is also gratifying to find that she is practical in her suggestions, and not exclusive in her choice of instrumentalities. She zealously advocates the free-labour movement as an act of conscience upon those who wish to be free of all participation in the guilt of slavery, and

as a moral protest on their part against the system. "The moral argument and the remedy," which is the title of her third letter, are conclusive enough to our mind, and the succeeding one on "Free Cotton" is highly interesting. We believe that the "gentlemen connected with the cotton question and honorable British tradesmen," to whom her appeal is specially addressed, will more readily admit the force of her reasoning than recognize the obligation upon them to which it leads, of discontinuing the use and the sale of slave-grown produce. Nevertheless, this little unpretending volume, written with a sincere and a good purpose, in a faithful spirit, and carrying with it the earnestness of conviction, cannot fail to be productive of advantage to the cause. The "bread" that is "cast upon the waters" is sure to "return after many days."

*Remarks occasioned by Strictures in the Courier and New York Enquirer of December, 1852, upon the Stafford-House Address.* BY AN ENGLISHWOMAN; in a Letter to a Friend in the United States. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co.

The writer of this pamphlet is Mrs. Henry Grey, of Edinburgh, who seems to have felt it a duty she owed to the anti-slavery cause, to defend the course of the "Women of England" who signed the addresses to the "Women of America." She has discharged her duty very efficiently, and in a commendable spirit. We had marked a few passages for extract, but want of space precludes our introducing them: at least this month. We can recommend the pamphlet very cordially.

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